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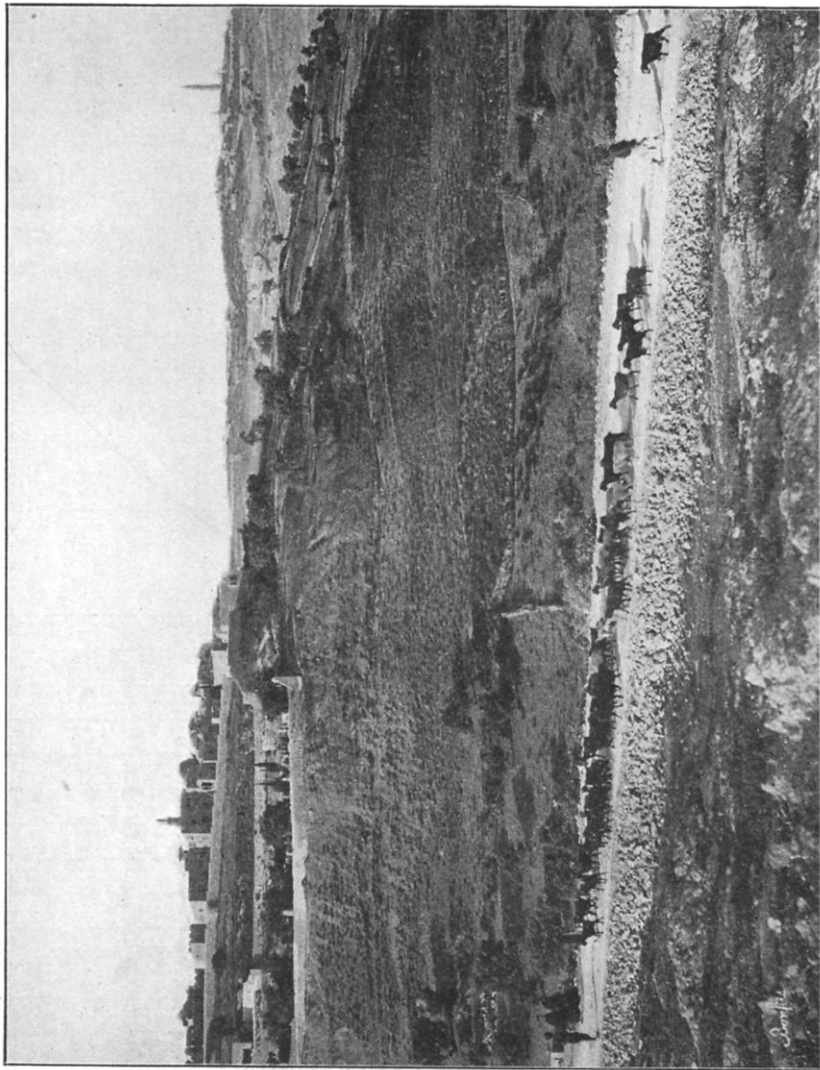
JERUSALEM IN BIBLE TIMES

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V. ZION, OPHEL, AND MORIAH

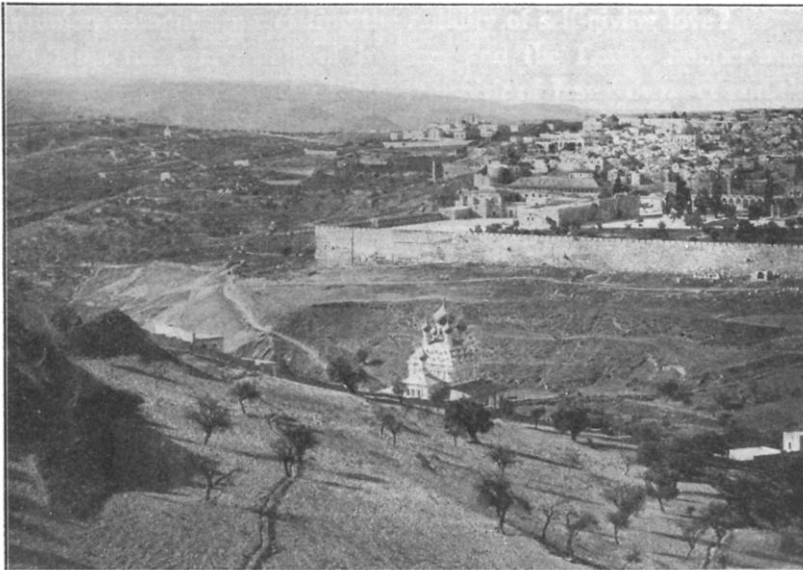
I. *Zion*.—Another hill mentioned in the Old Testament even more frequently than the City of David is Zion. In regard to the location of this hill the views have been as diverse as they have been in regard to the City of David. The tradition both of the Greek and of the Latin church identifies Zion with SW. This is followed by Robinson, Williams, Lewin, and DeVogüé. The first trace of this view is found in the narrative of the Bordeaux Pilgrim dating from the fourth century A. D. The monk Brocardus in 1283 followed this view in his topography of Jerusalem. Aben Ezra, De Lyra, Lightfoot, Hiller, and others have identified Zion with NW. Ferguson and Thrupp identified it with NE. Clarke, Buckingham, and Ritter identified it with the Hill of Evil Counsel southeast of the city. In recent times the view has become general that Zion is the name for the entire eastern ridge. This view was first advocated by Caspari, and has been adopted by Birch, Weikert, Socin, Guthe, Benzinger, Buhl, and G. A. Smith. Even the monks of St. Stephen's in Jerusalem have come to accept the east-hill theory in opposition to the tradition of the Latin church. The arguments in support of the identification of Zion with the eastern hill are as follows:

1. All the early references to the City of David identify it with Zion in such a way as to show that Zion and the City of David must have lain on the same ridge. In II Sam. 5:7 [= I Chron. 11:5] we read: "Nevertheless, David took the stronghold of Zion; the same is the City of David." In I Kings 8:1 [= II Chron. 5:2] we are told that Solomon brought up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the City of David, which is Zion. The City of David, as we have seen, was located on the southern extremity of the eastern hill. If it can be explained by saying that it is Zion, this indicates that Zion was a name for the same hill.



EAST HILL OF JERUSALEM—THE TRUE ZION

2. The pre-exilic prophets frequently speak of Zion as in a peculiar sense the abode of Yahweh. This shows that it was the hill upon which the Temple stood. Thus, Amos 1:2, "Yahweh shall roar from Zion;" Isa. 2:3, "Many people shall come up to the mountain of Yahweh, to the house of the God of Jacob. . . . for out of Zion shall go forth instruction;" Isa. 4:5, "And the Lord will create over the whole habitation of Mount Zion, and over her assemblies, a cloud and smoke by day;" 8:18, "Yahweh of hosts dwelleth in Mount Zion;"



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14:32, "Yahweh hath founded Zion;" 18:7, "A present shall be brought unto Yahweh of hosts to the place of the name of Yahweh of hosts, the mount of Zion;" 29:1, 7, 9, "Ariel, the city where David encamped," and where the feasts of Yahweh are celebrated, is called Mount Zion; 31:4, "Yahweh of hosts will come down to fight upon Mount Zion;" 31:9, "whose fire is in Zion;" 33:20, "Zion, the city of our solemnities." Mic. 3:12 puts into parallelism with the statement, "Zion shall be ploughed as a field," "the mountain of the house shall become as the high places of a forest." Mic. 4:7 says: "Yahweh shall reign over them in Mount Zion." Jer. 8:19 inquires: "Is not

Yahweh in Zion? Is not her king in her?" Jer. 31:6, 12 reads: "Let us go up to Zion unto Yahweh our God." "They shall come and sing in the height of Zion." These passages indicate that the Temple, the earthly abode of Yahweh, stood upon Zion. But the Temple was certainly situated upon the eastern hill; consequently Zion also must be sought on this hill.

3. The early prophets mention Zion as the residence of the king and the nobility. We know, however, that Solomon's palace adjoined the Temple and was inclosed within the same wall; consequently Zion must be identified with the eastern hill. Amos 6:1 describes the rulers of Judah as "those that are at ease in Zion," and puts them into parallelism with the rulers of Israel who dwell in Samaria. Isa. 3:16 f. describes the wives of the aristocracy as "daughters of Zion;" 16:1 tells the distressed Moabites to send a tribute of lambs to the ruler of Judah unto the mount of daughter Zion. Isa. 28:16, describing the condition of the renewed nation, says: "Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone." Mic. 4:8 says that the former dominion of the kings of Judah shall again return to Ophel of daughter Zion. In this connection it may be mentioned that Cant. 3:11 represents the daughters of Zion as going forth to meet King Solomon on his return to his palace with his bride.

4. The exilic writings connect Zion with the Temple as frequently as do the pre-exilic writings; thus, Lam. 1:4, "The ways of Zion do mourn, because none come to the solemn assembly; all her gates are desolate, her priests do sigh;" 2:6 f., "Yahweh hath caused solemn assembly and sabbath to be forgotten in Zion; he hath cast off his altar and abhorred his sanctuary;" 4:1, 11, "The stones of the sanctuary are poured out;" "Yahweh has kindled a fire in Zion;" Obad., vs. 17, "In Mount Zion there shall be those that escape, and it shall be holy" (cf. also Isa. 52:7 f.; 60:14; 64:10 f.; Jer. 50:5, 28; 51:10).

5. The post-exilic prophets in like manner speak of Zion as the dwelling-place of Yahweh (cf. Zech. 2:10; 8: 2, 3; Joel 2:1, 15; 3:16, 17, 21; Isa. 24:23).

6. In the Psalter Zion is scarcely ever mentioned except in connection with the Temple and its worship. In a number of passages it is put into parallelism with the sanctuary; thus, Ps. 20:2, "Send thee help

from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion;" Ps. 78:68, "Mount Zion which he loved, and he built his sanctuary." As the site of the Temple, Zion is repeatedly described as "the place that Yahweh has chosen," or "has loved" (cf. Pss. 78:68; 87:2, 5). It is also said to be "the place where he dwelleth," or "where he reigns" (cf. Pss. 48:2; 74:2; 76:2; 99:2; 132:13; 146:10; 9:11, 14; 2:6; 87:2). As the dwelling-place of Yahweh, Zion is described as the source of salvation, life, and blessing for Israel (cf. Pss. 9:14; 14:7; 50:2; 53:6; 110:2; 128:5; 133:3; 134:3). Zion is also repeatedly described as the place where the worship of Yahweh goes on, which also implies that it was the mountain on which the Temple stood; thus, Ps. 65:1, "Praise waiteth for thee, O God, in Zion, and unto thee shall the vow be performed;" Ps. 84:7, "Every one of them appeareth before God in Zion." In Ps. 137:1, 3 the songs of the Temple are described as songs of Zion (cf. Ps. 102:21; 147:12; 125:1). Those who follow ecclesiastical tradition in locating Zion on the west hill explain these passages by assuming that the name Zion was originally applied to SW, but was subsequently extended to cover the entire city, and then was limited in the language of religion to the Temple mountain. This theory is so artificial that it has found no favor among critical historians.

7. The writings of the Apocrypha connect Zion with the Temple in precisely the same manner as the earlier literature. In I Macc. 4:37, 38 we read: "And all the army was gathered together and they went up unto Mount Zion. And they saw the sanctuary laid desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest or as on one of the mountains, and the priests' chambers pulled down;" I Macc. 5:54, "And they went up to Mount Zion with gladness and joy, and offered whole burnt offerings;" 7:32, "And there fell on Nicanor's side about five hundred men, and they fled into the City of David; and after these things Nicanor went up to Mount Zion, and there came some of the priests out of the sanctuary." In 14:27 it is narrated that it was decided to set up certain pillars in honor of Simon on Mount Zion. In 14:48 we are told that these were set up in a conspicuous place within the compass of the sanctuary.

The only way in which advocates of the west-Zion theory can

dispose of these statements is to assert that First Maccabees is in error in its identification. Thus, Mommert (Vol. I, p. 179) remarks: "In the second century before Christ in Maccabees Zion appears for a short time as a designation of the sanctuary." As a matter of fact, Zion has never appeared as anything else than a designation of the sanctuary from the earliest times onward. This identification is not peculiar to Maccabees among the books of the Apocrypha, but is found also in Ecclus. 24:10, "In the holy tabernacle I ministered before him; and so was I established in Zion;" I Esdr. 8:81, "He glorified the temple of our Lord, and raised up the desolate Zion."

8. Josephus never uses the name Zion, but in *Ant.* i, 13:2; vii. 4:2; 13:4, he states that David's tent for the ark was pitched on the same mountain on which Solomon's Temple was afterward built. David's tent for the ark, according to II Sam. 6:12, was placed in the City of David on Mount Zion; consequently Josephus also seems to have held that Zion was the Temple hill. We find thus an unbroken tradition identifying Zion with the eastern hill from the earliest times down to about 100 A. D.

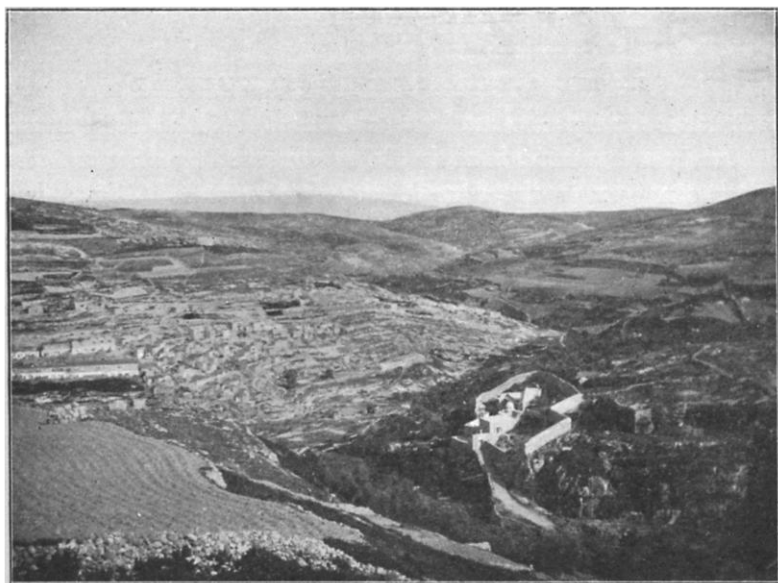
The only objection to this view is that in many passages of the Old Testament Zion is put into parallelism with Jerusalem. This, it is claimed, shows that Zion was a name for the whole city, and therefore forbids our basing any conclusions upon its connection with the Temple. This parallelism of Zion and Jerusalem is found in the pre-exilic prophets (cf. Amos 1:2; Mic. 4:2 [=Isa. 2:3]; Isa. 4:3 f.; 10:32; 31:4 f., 9; 33:20; 37:22, 32 [=II Kings 19:21, 31]; Mic. 3:10, 12 [=Jer. 26:18]; 4:8; Zeph. 3:14, 16). It is found more frequently in the exilic and post-exilic literature (cf. Jer. 51:35; Lam. 1:17; 2:10, 13; 4:11 f.; Isa. 40:9; 41:27; 52:1 f.; 62:1; 64:10; Zech. 1:17; 8:3; 9:9; Joel 3:16 f.; Ps. 51:18; 76:2; 102:16, 21; 128:5; 147:12; 135:21; Ecclus. 24:10 f.). In a number of passages Zion and daughter Zion are used as names for the whole of Jerusalem (cf. Isa. 1:27; 10:24; 29:8; 33:5, 14; Mic. 1:13; 4:10 f.; 4:13; Jer. 3:14; 4:6, 31; 6:2, 23; 9:19; 30:17; Lam. 1:6, 17; 2:1, 4, 8, 18; 4:22; 5:11, 18; Isa. 12:6; 49:14; 51:3, 11, 16; 61:3; 62:11; 66:8; Zech. 2:7; Joel 2:23; Isa. 35:10; Ps. 9:14; 87:5; 102:13, 16; 126:1; 129:5).

It should be noted that all these passages in which Zion is put into parallelism with Jerusalem, or in which it is described as if it were

the whole city, are *poetical*. There is not one instance in prose in which Zion is identified with Jerusalem. Zion is parallel to Judah or Israel in a number of passages (cf. Jer. 14:19; Lam. 5:11; Isa. 46:13; Zech. 9:13; Ps. 48:11, 12; 69:35; 78:68; 97:8; 149:2). It would not be safe to infer from these that Zion is literally synonymous with all of Judah or Israel. It is equally unsafe to infer from poetic parallelism that Zion is literally synonymous with Jerusalem. When we consider that in the great majority of passages Zion is connected with the Temple or with something on the eastern hill, and that in not one passage is it connected with the western hill, the easiest way to explain the Old Testament usage is to assume that Zion was originally a name for the eastern hill, but that its association with the Temple made it suitable as a poetic designation of Jerusalem or Judah viewed as a religious community. When, therefore, it is placed in parallelism with Jerusalem or Judah, it does not indicate that it had an actual geographical extension to the western hill. This is a more natural hypothesis than the one which assumes that Zion was originally the name of the western hill, was then extended to the whole city, and was finally limited again to the Temple mount.

II. *Ophel*.—The hill of Ophel is first mentioned in Mic. 4:8, where it is described as "Ophel of daughter Zion." Since Zion has been found to lie on the eastern hill, this implies that Ophel was on the same ridge. Neh. 3:26 states that "the Nethinim dwelt in Ophel unto the place over against the Water Gate toward the east." The Water Gate opened upon the path which led down from the eastern hill to the spring of Gihon; consequently Ophel was situated in the middle of the eastern hill. The same location is assigned to it by the statements of Neh. 3:27 and 11:21. II Chron. 27:3 mentions the wall of Ophel in connection with the upper gate of the house of the Lord. II Chron. 33:14 connects the compassing about of Ophel with the building of an outer wall to the City of David on the west side of Gihon. Josephus, in *Wars*, v, 4:2, says that the eastern wall of the city ran from Siloam to the Temple and joined the eastern cloister at a place called Ophel. *Wars*, v, 6:1, connects Ophel with the Temple and the Valley of Kidron (cf. vi, 6:3). From these passages it is clear that Ophel must have lain on the eastern hill immediately south of the Temple.

III. *Moriah*.—Moriah as a name for the Temple mount is given only in II Chron. 3:1. Gen. 22:2, 14 (editorial) seems to know this name, inasmuch as it explains Moriah as meaning the place where men ought to appear before Yahweh—that is, the Temple. No traces of this name are found in early literature, and it is doubtful whether it was in actual use. In all early writings Zion is the name for the Temple hill. If Moriah is a real name, then we must assume that it applied to one of the smaller peaks of the eastern hill. In that case Zion was the name of the whole eastern ridge, and its three smaller peaks extending from north to south were Moriah, Ophel, and City of David.



THE VALLEY OF KIDRON